

A view of the railway station at Geok Tepe, ca. 1890



Teke Turkomans plowing one of their fields, ca. 1890

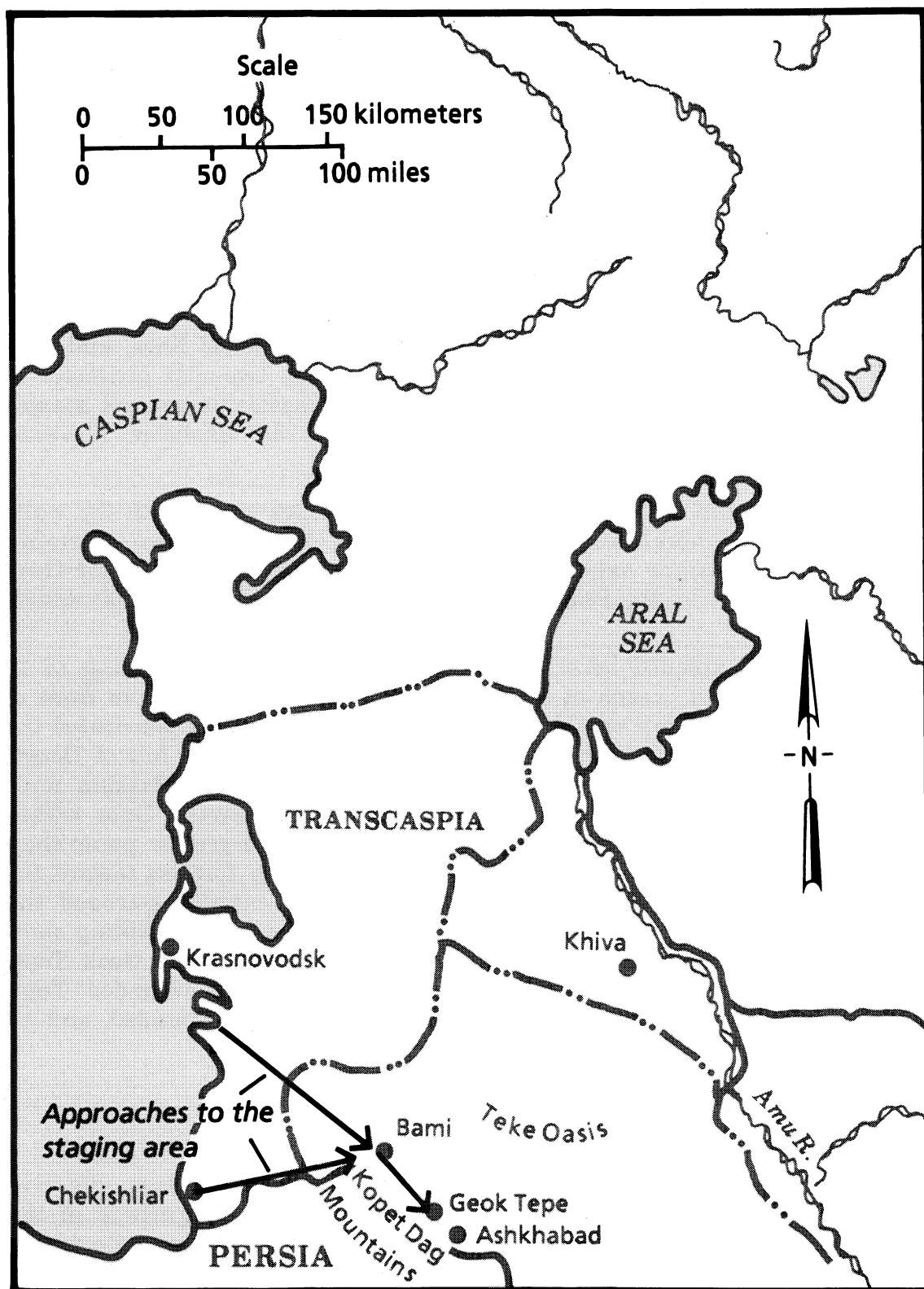
Subsequent investigation showed that Lomakin's attack had been ill-conceived from the start. Instead of concentrating his assault on a particular portion of the fort, the walls of which were protected by steep ditches, five battalions advanced along a broad front. Lomakin's undoing began with his neglect to coordinate or concentrate artillery fire in support of the attack. Nor did he bother to form special groups of men to surmount the fortress walls.⁷² The retreat suffered as well from dismal preparation and a "total lack of unity of control."⁷³ Furthermore, the eight Red Cross wagons available to transport the wounded had a total capacity of only sixteen men. When the demoralized column completed the eight-mile trek back to its base at Iangi-kala, the men, who had not eaten for two days, were on the brink of exhaustion.⁷⁴

Impatient to expunge any psychological effects of the Russian defeat, Miliutin urged the organization of a new expedition as soon as possible (see map 8).⁷⁵ General Adjutant Skobelev, most recently a hero of the Battle of Plevna versus the Turks, took charge of the operation at the tsar's personal direction⁷⁶ and, in a style sharply different from that of Lomakin and Lazarev, carried out meticulous preparations. Skobelev conducted extensive reconnaissance of possible routes of approach from Krasnovodsk and Chikishliar and chose Bami as the most suitable position for a supply station from either direction. He further arranged resupply by sea and, with diplomatic support, orchestrated the establishment of a supply point on the Persian side of the frontier opposite Geok Tepe. An enthusiast of gadgetry and technology, Skobelev brought along a water-freshening device as well as the latest military hardware: machine guns, rockets, hand grenades, and several heliographs.⁷⁷

In assembling his force, Skobelev applied the so-called "Turkestan proportions," according to which a 200-man company had sufficient combat power to match 1,000 disorganized Central Asians. Even a company, he believed, if properly commanded was tantamount to a "moving Strasbourg" in the context of Central Asian warfare.⁷⁸ Skobelev was not one to rely blindly on his own assumptions, however, and insisted on taking a small expedition of 1,000 men on reconnaissance to the very walls of Geok Tepe. Skobelev even staged a mock assault on the fortress. After firing 120 rounds of artillery at its western face, Skobelev abruptly withdrew his force in perfect order to the accompaniment of music.⁷⁹

In November, Skobelev began the actual expedition to Geok Tepe with a force of about 7,000 men. As in 1879, the Turkomans retreated deep into the Teke oasis and, finally, to Geok Tepe, where perhaps 35,000 men, women, and children congregated.⁸⁰ Skobelev first captured the village of Iangi-kala, which controlled the water supply to Geok Tepe.

Before the storming of Iangi-kala on 18 December, Skobelev included in his instructions to his officers a detailed assessment of the fighting qualities of the Turkomans and practical advice for engaging them:



Map 8. The Akhal-Teke campaign, 1880—81

Obstinate fighting is to be expected for local objects. The enemy is brave, and skillful in single combat; he fires effectively, and is provided with a good sidearm, but he operates in individual extended order, or in detached bodies, but little obedient to the will of their chief, and, therefore, unfit, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers, for combined action and manoeuvring in masses.⁸¹

Under no circumstances would Skobelev permit the enemy to dictate the terms of battle.

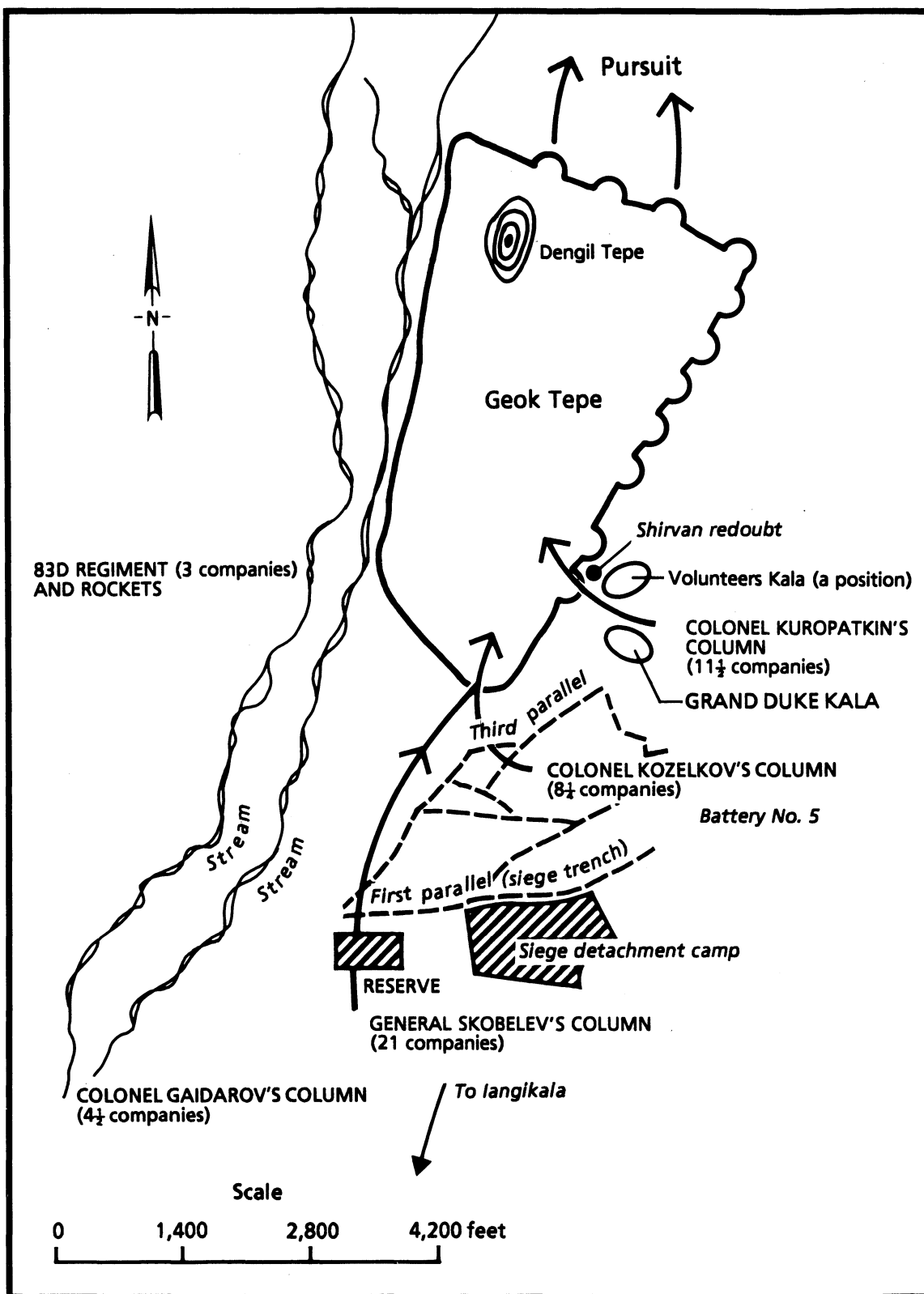
With the seizure of Iangi-kala, Skobelev methodically opened the siege and assault on Geok Tepe (see map 9). Russian siege lines spread the force dangerously thin, a situation Skobelev himself acknowledged. Fully realizing that the Russians had difficulty manning their established lines, and thus could never hope to impose a full blockade on the two-mile perimeter of Geok Tepe, the Turkomans resolved to await the inevitable general assault in which they hoped to repeat their success of 1879.⁸² Skobelev, however, had no intention of repeating Lomakin's errors.

Skobelev's plan called for the detonation of mines underneath the walls and a half-hour bombardment to precede an attack by two storming columns. The Russians expected an intense and prolonged battle for Geok Tepe as evidenced by the issue of a 2-day supply of rations and 200 rounds to each soldier.⁸³

The mines exploded according to plan at 1120 on the morning of 12 January, creating a breach of over forty yards in width directly in front of Skobelev's main column on the right flank. As the Russians penetrated the inner fortress, large numbers of Turkomans withdrew to the hill of Dengil Tepe in the northwestern corner of the fortress. A second Russian force broke through a breach on the southern face of the fortress. Once within the walls, the Russians encountered less opposition and greater panic than expected. Thousands of Turkomans streamed out of the fortress toward the north, while fighting continued within. Russian cavalry pursued the fugitives and massacred combatants and noncombatants alike, killing some 8,000 in all. Approximately 6,500 Turkomans perished inside Geok Tepe. Russian losses for the day's action were 59 killed and 254 wounded. Total casualties for the campaign numbered 290 killed and 833 wounded, and an additional 645 men perished from disease.⁸⁴

Conclusions

The Russian victory at Geok Tepe extinguished the last effective resistance to imperial rule in Central Asia, and the magnitude of the slaughter left an indelible impression on the Turkomans as reflected in subsequent recollections of a British observer, who commented: "Five years later, when the railway was opened to Ashkhabad, and in the course of the inaugural ceremonies the Russian military music began to play, the Turkoman women and children raised woeful cries of lamentation, and the men threw themselves on the ground with their foreheads in the dust."⁸⁵



Map 9. The storming of Geok Tepe fortress, 12 January 1881

Such commentaries by British commentators may have been self-serving and even hypocritical, but the psychological impact of events at Geok Tepe was nonetheless profound. The Russians encountered little resistance to their rule in Central Asia and in Turkmenia, in particular, in the decades prior to World War I.

Though similar in many tactical respects, Russia's experience in Central Asia differed in important ways from that in the Caucasus. Resistance in Central Asia was never unified, and at no time did a charismatic leader emerge to guide the disparate rebel efforts in a common direction. Given the modest scale of Russian forces in Central Asia—the total infantry of which never exceeded 31 battalions and the cavalry strength being far less than that—the management of a populace of 5 million people over a vast territory (roughly 3 million square kilometers) would have been extraordinarily difficult had the opposition ever coalesced or had the indigenous population ever engaged in widespread guerrilla warfare. General Skobelev recognized such a potential in the region and argued strenuously that Russia must act decisively and ruthlessly to prevent a prolongation of hostilities. The general never failed to follow his own advice, and Russian rule enjoyed an extended period of stability.⁸⁶

Yet the absence of a genuine resistance movement in Central Asia was due to more than Skobelev's ruthlessness. Conspicuously absent in the Central Asians, in comparison with the Caucasians, was the fusion of a warrior spirit with religious zeal. The nomadic Kazakhs of the steppe and the Turkomans of the Teke oasis were splendid and daring fighters but were motivated almost exclusively by a desire to preserve their traditional way of life. Their numbers were small, and their independent spirit prevented them from massing their strength. Meanwhile, the great settled populace of the khanates, though occasionally volatile, showed little passion for fighting. Their religion, founded on a rich cultural heritage, did not impel them to martyrdom. The ancient commercial centers of Central Asia retained in some measure the cosmopolitan outlook of a more prosperous age.

Russia's absorption of Central Asia was of tremendous import to the empire, both politically and economically, affording Russia complete domination of the Caspian Sea and its markets, strengthening Russia's grip on the affairs of Iran, and granting it new, valuable leverage in its affairs with Britain. The legacy for the army, as in the case of the Caucasus, was modest and short-lived. The sudden death of Skobelev, whose legend had assumed heroic proportions, accounted in part for this fact. Officers who served in Central Asia found no new theater to which they could transfer their experience. Russia became increasingly entangled in European affairs and in the competition for markets and influence in the Far East. Thus, the perspective of Russian officers on the great campaigns of the steppe and desert is perhaps best typified by this view expressed by a Russian officer to an English correspondent, David Ker, of the *Daily Telegraph*:

Turkestan is to us what Algeria has been to France—a kind of training school for more serious work. A good many of our young officers will learn

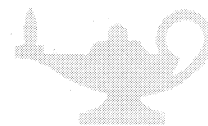
their first lessons from this expedition, and will be all the better for it; but taken altogether, Asiatic warfare is hardly a good school for European soldiers. . . .⁸⁷

Turkestan was, however, a good training ground for unconventional warfare, as the Caucasus had been before it. The unnamed officer's analogy to it and Algeria was more apt than he knew. Just as the French were to learn that unconventional enemies could exhaust the will and resources of a powerful state, so Russia would discover in the twentieth century that unconventional resistance by a highly motivated adversary is extremely difficult to extinguish by conventional military means.

The gulf between cultures on the frontier could not be bombarded away. While failing to close this gulf, Russian administration gradually paved the way for settlement and the intrusion of alien ways. In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1917, accumulated Muslim frustrations would fuel a stubborn resistance movement that would test the collective wits of the Red Army.

As an institution, the Russian Army never codified the lessons learned in decades of campaigning in Central Asia. By World War I, the army of Turkestan lost its distinctive character and became just another European-style formation. The task thus fell to Red Army historical analysts to resurrect the implied doctrine of Central Asian campaigning by combing through military libraries for instructive articles and memoirs, even as combat unfolded in Central Asia during the 1920s.

Notes



Chapter 2

1. "Pis'mo gen. adiut. kn. Bariatinskogo k voennomu ministru, gen. adiut. Sukhozanetu, ot 9-go iyunia 1857 goda," *Akty sobrannye kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi kommissiei*, vol. 12, pt. 3 (Tiflis, 1893), 196–97. As noted by Jacob Kipp, "Russian Naval Reformers and Imperial Expansion, 1856–1863," in *Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual*, vol. 1 (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1977), 123, the Naval Ministry also took an active interest in Central Asian expansion.
2. Central State Historical Archive, St. Petersburg, Russia, fund 954 (K. P. von Kaufman), index 1, file 112, sheets 1–8.
3. A. N. Kuropatkin, *Zadachi russkoi armii*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1910), 96.
4. Elizabeth Bacon, *Central Asians Under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 31, 38.
5. N. A. Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii k Rossii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 52–53.
6. Geoffrey Wheeler, "Russian Conquest and Colonization of Central Asia," in *Russian Imperialism: From Ivan the Great to the Revolution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 270; and Bacon, *Central Asians Under Russian Rule*, 57–61, 74–75.
7. Mary Holdsworth, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Central Asian Research Center, 1959), 21–22.
8. V. Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," pt. 2, *Voennyyi sbornik*, no. 5 (1873):25.
9. A. Smirnov and N. Ustiugov, eds., *Ocherki po istorii Bashkirskoi ASSR*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Ufa, Bashkis A.S.S.R.: Akademiia Nauk Bashkirskii Filial, 1959), 36. See also Alton S. Donnelly, *The Russian Conquest of Bashkiria, 1552–1740* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968).
10. F. I. Lobysevich, *Postupatel'noe dvizhenie v Sredniuiu Aziyu v torgovom i diplomaticheskovoennom otnoshenniakh (Dopolnitel'nyi material dlia istorii khivinskogo pokhoda 1873 g.)* (St. Petersburg, 1900), 71–72.
11. N. Sereda, "Bunt kirgizskogo sultana Kenisary Kasimova," *Vestnik Evropy*, no. 4 (1871):655–60.
12. E. U., "Stepnaia voina v Turkestanskom krae," *Voennyyi sbornik*, no. 7 (1880):71; and Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," 19.
13. Dmitrii Golosov, "Pokhod v Khivu v 1717 godu," *Voennyyi sbornik*, no. 10 (1861):364. Golosov provides transcripts of a number of communications by members of the expedition. See also Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," 6–7; and Alton S. Donnelly, "Peter the Great and Central Asia," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, nos. 2–3 (Summer and Fall 1975):211–12.
14. Lobysevich, *Postupatel'noe dvizhenie v Sredniuiu Aziyu*, 77. See also M. Ivanin, "Zametki po povodu napechatannoi vo 2, 3 nomerakh 'Voennogo sbornika' nyneshnego goda stat'i

- 'Pokhod v Khivu 1839 g.," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 4 (1863):484—502. Ivanin offers a different interpretation of the failure of Perovskii's expedition, blaming bungling and intrigues among Perovskii's officers in the administration of supply and transport.
15. Lobyshevich, *Postupatel'noe dvizhenie v Sredniuiu Aziuu*, 83—86.
 16. *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition to Khiva Under General Perofski in 1839* (Calcutta: Foreign Department of the Indian Government, 1867), 67—69. This is apparently a translation of a Russian account, but the original author is not named.
 17. Lobyshevich, *Postupatel'noe dvizhenie v Sredniuiu Aziuu*, 87a—8.
 18. *Ibid.*, 88—89.
 19. *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition*, 95, 121—122; and "Pokhod v Khivu v 1839 godu: otriada russkikh voisk, pod nachal'stvom general-adiutanta Perovskogo," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 3 (1863):12.
 20. *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition*, 112—25; and "Pokhod v Khivu v 1839 godu," 12.
 21. *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition*, 129—31; and "Pokhod v Khivu v 1839 godu," 4—9.
 22. Lobyshevich, *Postupatel'noe dvizhenie v Sredniuiu Aziuu*, 90; and *A Narrative of the Russian Military Expedition*, 144.
 23. Lobyshevich, *Postupatel'noe dvizhenie v Sredniuiu Aziuu*, 92—94.
 24. I. F. Babkov, *Vospominaniia o moei sluzhbe v zapadnoi Sibiri 1859—1875 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 11.
 25. Central State Military History Archive, Moscow, Russia, fund 483 (Central Asia), index 1, item 21, sheet 244.
 26. A. Khasanov, "O prisoedinenii severnykh Kirgizov k Rossii," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 (1950):126—28; David MacKenzie, *The Lion of Tashkent: The Career of General M. G. Cherniaev* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974), 29; and Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 107.
 27. M. A. Terentyef [Terent'ev], *Russia and England in Central Asia*, vol. 2, trans. F. C. Daukes (Calcutta: Foreign Department Press, 1876), 78; Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 157—59; and B. B. Bekmakhanov, *Prisoedinenie Kazakhstana k Rossii* (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk, 1957), 134—35.
 28. David Ker, *On the Road to Khiva* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1874), 74—75.
 29. Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864—1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 45. Kazemzadeh translated the quoted passage.
 30. *Ibid.*; Terentyef, *Russia and England*, 15; Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 109. For a good discussion of Russia's nineteenth-century Central Asian policy in a foreign relations context, see Dietrich Geyer, *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy, 1860—1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986).
 31. Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain*, 15. See also D. I. Romanovskii, *Zametki po sredne-aziatskomu voprosu* (St. Petersburg, 1868), 30. Romanovskii insists that the declarations of the Russian government, which did not approve Cherniaev's actions, were sincere. On the politics of "bureaucratic absolutism," see Jacob Kipp and W. Bruce Lincoln, "Autocracy and Reform: Bureaucratic Absolutism in Nineteenth Century Russia," *Russian History* 6, no. 1 (1979):1—21.
 32. David MacKenzie, "Expansion in Central Asia: St. Petersburg vs. the Turkestan Generals, 1863—1866," *Canadian Slavonic Studies* 3 (Summer 1969):286—311; and N. A. Khalfin, *Politika Rossii v Srednei Azii 1857—1868* (Moscow: Nauka, 1960), 198—99. See also Wheeler, "Russian Conquest," 271.
 33. MacKenzie, "Expansion in Central Asia," 300—308.

34. A. G. Serebrennikov, ed. *Turkestanskii krai. Sbornik materialov dlia istorii ego zavoevaniia 1866 god*, pt. 1 (Tashkent, Uzbek S.S.R., 1915), 96—111. Serebrennikov provides a full transcript of the report of the military governor of the Turkestan oblast, D. I. Romanovskii, to the commander of the Orenburg District dated 7 October 1866.
35. Ibid., 121. This is a transcript of Miliutin's note to the Orenburg commander dated 21 October 1866.
36. Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," 18; Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865—1924* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 25; Richard Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867—1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 23; and A. L. Popov, "Iz istorii zavoevaniia Srednei Azii," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, no. 9 (1940):215.
37. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, 36—39; Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 238—39; Popov, "Iz istorii zavoevaniia Srednei Azii," 218; and Pierce, *Russian Central Asia*, 26—27.
38. Wheeler, "Russian Conquest," 272; and Pierce, *Russian Central Asia*, 27.
39. E. U., "Stepnaia voina," 82—83; and "Pokhod v Khivu v 1839 godu," no. 2 (1863):340—41.
40. E. U., "Stepnaia voina," 83—85.
41. Ibid., 83; and M. Veniukov, "Zametki o stepnykh pokhodakh v Srednei Azii," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 4 (1860):291—92.
42. E. U., "Stepnaia voina," 90; and "Pokhod v Khivu v 1839 godu," pt. 3, 14—15.
43. E. U., "Stepnaia voina," 75; and Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," 19—21.
44. Veniukov, "Zametki o stepnykh pokhodakh," 271—72; and E. U., "Stepnaia voina," 80.
45. E. U., "Stepnaia voina," 91—93; and Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," 22.
46. Potto, "O stepnykh pokhodakh," 26—27.
47. Veniukov, "Zametki o stepnykh pokhodakh," 272.
48. Popov, "Iz istorii zavoevaniia Srednei Azii," 230.
49. N. I. Grodekov, *Khivinskii pokhod 1873 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 4—5; and A. D. Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," in *Istoriia russkoi armii i flota*, vol. 12 (Moscow, 1913), 117. See also Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, 70.
50. Grodekov, *Khivinskii pokhod 1873 g.*, 1—2.
51. See Popov, "Iz istorii zavoevaniia Srednei Azii," 239; Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 304—6; and A. I. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana i nastupatel'nogo dvizheniia v nego russkikh* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 313—15. At the same time, Russia's ambassador to England, Peter Shuvalov, gave assurance that any occupation of Khiva would be temporary.
52. Grodekov, *Khivinskii pokhod 1873 g.*, 1—2.
53. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 313—15.
54. V. N. Troitskii, *Opisanie khivinskogo pokhoda 1873 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 181—83.
55. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 317.
56. Troitskii, *Opisanie khivinskogo pokhoda*, 176, 180.
57. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 318.
58. Ibid., 319—21; and Grodekov, *Khivinskii pokhod 1873 g.*, 219—21. The principal functions of the Aral Flotilla were to explore area waterways, support communications among the forts of the Syr Darya Line, and cooperate with Russian columns moving along waterways. See *Istoricheskoe obozrenie ustroistva upravleniia morskim vedomstvom v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1869), 269—70.

59. Troitskii, *Opisanie khivinskogo pokhoda*, 79; and Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 320.
60. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 320—22.
61. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, 76; and Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 308—13.
62. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 331—32; and Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, 89—90. See also Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Central Asian Uprisings in the Nineteenth Century: Fergana Under the Russians," *The Russian Review* 46 (1987):275.
63. Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 333—34.
64. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia*, 65; and Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 310—13.
65. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia*, 36—37; Maksheev, *Istoricheskii obzor Turkestana*, 335—44; and Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 326—27.
66. Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 325—28.
67. N. S. Kiniapina, "Administrativnaia politika tsarizma na Kavkaze i v Srednei Azii v XIX veke," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 4 (1883):42—43; and David MacKenzie, "Kaufman of Turkestan: An Assessment of His Administration, 1867—1881," *Slavic Review* 26, no. 2 (1967):267—68, 271. MacKenzie points out that although Miliutin believed strongly in the indivisibility of authority in a frontier region, neither the British in India nor the French in Algeria employed such a system.
68. MacKenzie, "Kaufman of Turkestan," 270—73; Khalfin, *Prisoedinenie Srednei Azii*, 225—34; and Pierce, *Russian Central Asia*, 66.
69. The principal exception to this pattern would be the periphery of Kazakhstan along the former borders of the Russian Empire. For an excellent demographic discussion, see George Demko, *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan, 1896—1916* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969). Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 119—21.
70. Central State Military History Archive, fund 483, index 1, file 115, sheets 6—7. The document cited is a situation report filed in 1879 by a colonel of the General Staff on the Transcaspia region. Also, Mehmet Saray, "Russo-Turkmen Relations up to 1874," *Central Asian Survey* 3, no. 4 (1984):15—48.
71. G. Demurov, "Boi s tekintsami pri Dengel-Tepe 28 Avgusta 1879 goda," *Istoricheskii Vestnik* (March 1881):620.
72. Cherniak (Shtabs-kapitan), "Ekspeditsiia v Akhal-Teke v 1879 godu," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 8 (1887):268; and Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 120. F. Lomakin's report, see A. Solov'ev, *Rossia i Turkmennia v xix veke* (Ashkhabad: Turkmenskoe Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1946), 122—26.
73. P. Bobrovskii, "Akhal-tekinskaia ekspeditsiia 1879 goda," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 10 (1898):296—97. Bobrovskii cites the official report of Lieutenant General Tergukosov, a participant in the expedition. He also cites Lazarev's report in which the general claimed that the supply plan was adequate but that the column met with unforeseeable difficulties. See pages 268—69.
74. Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 119—21; and Cherniak, "Ekspeditsiia v Akhal-Teke," 265—71.
75. Dmitrii Miliutin, *Dnevnik*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Lenin Library, 1950), 168, 172.
76. Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 121; and N. N. Knorring, *General Mikhail Dmitrievich Skobelev* (Paris, 1939), 159.
77. N. I. Grodekov, *Voina v Turkmennii: Pokhod Skobeleva v 1880—81 gg.*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1883), 92—93; Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 123—24; and A. Kersnovskii, *Istoriia russkoi armii*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1934), 75.
78. Kersnovskii, *Istoriia russkoi armii*, 484; and Knorring, *General Mikhail Dmitrievich Skobelev*, 165.

79. Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 131; and Knorring, *General Mikhail Dmitrievich Skobelev*, 165—66.
 80. Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 136; and Knorring, *General Mikhail Dmitrievich Skobelev*, 167. See also George Dobson, *Russia's Railway Advance into Central Asia* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1890), 1956.
 81. M. D. Skobelev, *Siege and Assault of Denghil-Tepe: General Skobelev's Report*, trans. J. Levenson (London, 1881), 10—17, 60; and Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 144.
 82. Shemanskii, "Zavoevanie Srednei Azii," 137—38; and A. A. Maier, *Nabroski i ocherki Akhal-tekinskoi ekspeditsii 1880—1881 (iz vospominanii ranennogo)* (Kronshtadt, 1886), 221—22.
 83. Muravtsev [Captain], "Turkestanskii otriad v Akhal-tekinskoi ekspeditsii 1880—1881 gg.," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 1 (1883):149.
 84. Skobelev, *Siege and Assault of Denghil-Tepe*, 50—55; and Muravtsev, "Turkestanskii otriad," 291—98.
 85. George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), 84.
 86. Central State Historical Archive, fund 954, index 1, file 112, sheet 3; and Charles Marvin, *The Russian Advance Towards India* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 240.
 87. Ker, *On the Road to Khiva*, 6.
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Chapter 2

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